



Globalization and Patterns of Alcohol Consumption in a Mexican Indian Community ¹

Luis Berruecos²

Department of Social Relations,

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, (UAM) - Xochimilco Campus, México City

berruecos.luis@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In Mexico, the recent establishment of the maquila industry in the surroundings of an Indian community in Mexico, has provoked the homogenisation/ westernization of lifestyles, values and cultural representations in suggested outcomes - such as cultural resistance, re-invention, indigenization or creolization as socio-cultural consequences of globalization, such as the re-shaping people's everyday lifestyle experiences, such as alcohol consumption, and the adverse effects and consequences on an emergent cosmopolitanism on social and cultural life that facilitates the migration of cultural meanings and practices from one place to another.

Currently, there are more than 2,100 industries in Mexico and 16% of the labour force in the manufacturing industry is located in the maquila. The strategy followed by the maquila industry is very clear within the process of globalization of world economies through intensive production of capital in industrialized countries, whereas the intensive production in generalized scale is done in peripheral countries where wages are low. Transnational companies have fewer taxes to pay, and they transfer their models of technology to maquila countries where the owners also own the capital.

In the city of Teziutlán in the northern State of Puebla, Mexico, and its surroundings close to the Indian village where I have been working in the last 37 years, there are around 300 maquila industries. Most of them produce clothing of different kinds for exportation. Most of the people that work in the maquila industry are from Teziutlán and surrounding small cities. Since Teziutlán is only exporting low cost wages, there are local systems of control of these industries through the Ministry of Finance, the Local Chamber and the Municipality, but there no longer is easy to find workers for the field in agricultural activities since people prefer to work in the maquilas and the cost of living is higher than before.

In this essay, I will analyze the effects of globalization via the installation of maquila industries, in the socio cultural aspects of the members of an Indian community in Mexico, specially, paying attention on the transformation of alcohol consumption patterns of the inhabitants of this particular Indian village.

¹ Paper presented at the 23rd International Conference: "The Search for Peace in a Challenging Global Environment". The Hilton Rose Hall Hotel, Montego Bay, JAMAICA: May 23-27, 2014

² Mexican Social Anthropologist and Historian. Full-Time Researcher/Professor and Dean of the Department of Social Relations, Social Sciences and Humanities Division, Metropolitan Autonomous University, Xochimilco Campus (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco), México City, Mexico. (berruecos.luis@gmail.com)



Introduction

Globalization has become the major debate of the last decade³⁴. The processes of global transformation are generally seen to operate in a multi-layered way including different aspects related to economics, politics, culture and environment.

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Although economic globalization is often seen as the most advanced aspect,⁶ I am particularly interested in the impact globalization has on the cultural environment and traditions of Indian communities.

The main aim of this paper is to demonstrate that Maquila Industry as part of the globalization process, has affected Mexican economy and to illustrate this point, I will refer to the case of a city where 10 percent of the industry in all the country has been recently established and how this has affected the leisure lifestyles of an Indian community that not too long ago, was very traditional in terms of its culture and has been changing rapidly with unpredictable consequences.

The paper will be divided into five parts. In the first one I will analyse the global level in terms of the transnational enterprises and the Modern State; later, we will see Mexico in the globalization process and the advantages and disadvantages in the international commerce. The third part will give some history about the Maquila industry in Mexico and fourthly, how the maquila industry is related to productive transformation and its expansion to, finally, touch in the fifth part the case of Teziutlán.

Finally I will conclude that the definite results of globalization are still far away to be known and that in the case of Mexico, the government has followed a neo liberal model and has kept his policy of compressed salaries, having as consequence that unemployment is one of the most severe problems in the country: maquila provides then some jobs but with low wages and this affects the rest of the economy; that is why impulse to internal production and access to cultural and communicational resources must be developed to protect regional institutions. Moreover, I will prove that the exports that come from the maquila

³ Hirsch, 1996: 84-85

⁴ Berruecos, 2000

⁵ Kearney: 2001:2-9

⁶ Kaplan, 2001:15; Roitman, 2001:14



have no effect in the reconstruction of the internal market or in the generation of jobs or the elevation of the level and quality of life of the majority since the maquiladora industry has disarticulated the rest of the economy. In spite of the fact that the maquila (assembly plant) export industry is one of Mexico's most dynamic sectors, private investment and exports, as opposed to excessive public spending or indebtedness must drive economic growth. Inflation must be reduced without artificial controls or price distortion, and with a free-floating exchange rate and, consequently, there is a need for a regulatory framework to generate certainty and favour competitiveness, but inflation must be reduced through a free-floating exchange rate and without resorting to artificial controls or price distortion.

The global level

The growing interconnection of world activities is undoubtedly one of the most significant developments of the recent years. Globalization has brought with it such an internationalization of economic transactions that activities that in the past were essentially explained in terms of national economy, have sought for other financing channels such as the *maquila*⁷.

Globalization has also impacted the cultural sphere⁸. Economic globalization implies alliances, which force societies to reorganize the political sphere, which in turn favours and strengthens the economic position of transnational enterprises that have established an international commercial regime.⁹

⁷Dicken, 1992; Held et. al., 1997

⁸Different studies have been done to explore the relation that exists between the new globalize system of production and what culturally speaking is known as post-modernism. (Cohen, 1988), (Harvey, 1990).

⁹Ohae, 1995, Harvey, op.,cit.



Some authors agree that economy is not changing but that it is transforming itself in its structural basis. This process, they sustain, is irreversible, and global markets have placed national states in an irrelevant position. Consequently, the debate is around the emphasis that scholars give to one or many of the elements that form part of the core of globalization.¹⁰

Between the two World Wars, the manufacturing industry grew rapidly especially in terms of the construction of transnational networks. Its market was oriented outwards (off-shore production) attempting to reduce costs for wages and transport. A profound crisis with a survival instinct motivated the restructuring of the international economy through new lines of production, new markets and the exportation of capital to areas of easy control in laboral terms.¹¹

The flexible accumulation of the production system was the response of the market supported by the flexibility of the laboral process, production itself and consumption patterns with the emergence of complete new sectors of production, new means of providing services to producers, new markets and especially, the intensification of the innovation rates in terms of organization, technology and commerce. New industrial production centres appeared in newly industrialised nations: industrial decay¹² practically converted former intense manufacturing areas in *ghettos* of social exclusion in the cities especially in countries with emergent economies¹³.

Transnational enterprises and the Modern State

Transnational Corporations have promoted economic globalization, organizing capital at international level and have generated structural transformations in economic activity. Their growing power can be illustrated with the fact that they

¹⁰Giddens, 1998, 1999, 2000; Cohen, op. cit.

¹¹Jiménez, 2000.

¹² This economic situation is clearly drawn in the recent movie (The Full Monty) related to unemployment in London, the heart of industrial movement.

¹³ This concept is used by OCDE and is based in a group of economic indicators (foreign investment, exports, imports, flows of capital, etc.).



now concentrate one fourth of world commerce¹⁴. While world capital through globalization of the economy is the strategy represented by the establishment of economic blocks such as the ones in Japan, the European Union, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as well as the Common South Market in Latin America (MERCOSUR), national governments are still crucial in the functioning of global markets¹⁵.

Within this framework, the main purpose of this paper is to analyze the the case of the maquila industry recently established in the surroundings of the city of Teziutlán, Puebla.

Mexico in the globalization process: advantages and disadvantages in the international commerce

Being a rich country in terms of natural resources, culture, traditions, music, gastronomy and so forth, Mexico is not still a developed nation neither in economic nor in political-democratic terms¹⁶. Maybe that is why we enjoy abusing of the term crisis, especially in economic terms. Mexico's economic sickness is so vital and permanent that the country has survived many crises that have lasted for decades. This alive but sick patient has been incorporated to globalization with or without permission of the Mexicans.

In order to present a complete analysis of the effects of Mexico's incorporation to the global economy, I should briefly evaluate the economic-financial crisis of 1994-95 and analyze the results of the economic structural reform evaluating the different levels of production, external commerce, direct foreign investment and capital flows: this is not possible for space reasons and also since unfortunately, being an Anthropologist and not an Economist, that situation will force me to present an anthropoeconomical and mostly cultural explanation of the effects of

¹⁴ Dicken, op. cit.

¹⁵ UNCTAD, 1994.

¹⁶ Many blame our neighbour, the "Colossus of the North" : "poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States", people say.



globalization in this Indian Mexican community. Different economic reforms have provoked profound inequalities and have compressed the middle class.¹⁷ Since NAFTA, Mexico is the third most important commercial partner of USA after Japan and Canada.

Mexico is currently the 13th exporting and importing economy in the world with a total value of 110.4 millions of dollars and an annual variation of 15 percent. Manufacturing industry registered a commercial deficit without maquila industry in the amount of 8,432.8 millions of dollars between January and July in 1997¹⁸; whereas maquila industry generated capital for 6,171 million between January and July; by 1997, the total value of exports of the maquila industry was of 4 thousand million dollars and the Minister of Commerce (Secretaría de Comercio, 1997)¹⁹ explains that amount refers to 26% more than the value of the exports of the same sector (821 million dollars), 58% more than the previous year (Martinez,1997b).²⁰ Consequently, 53 new projects related to maquila industry were approved by the government in July 1997, officially recognizing the existence of 3,960 industries.²¹

From January to July, these industries generated a total of 52,927 new employments. Based on official figures,²² we can say that in spite of the fact that the maquila industry generates 40% of exports in the country, they only provide 3.7% of employment and wages. Finally, we should quote the Confederation of Industries (Concamin) that has stated that in the last 20 years, the National Internal Product has grown as an average at a rate of 2.5 per year, growing only 4% annually.²³

Some History

¹⁷ Castañeda, 1995.

¹⁸ Martínez Nicolás, 1997^a.

¹⁹ 1997

²⁰ Martínez Nicolás, 1997b.

²¹ Zúñiga, 2000: 19, Tuirán, 2001, OCDE/OECD, 2001.

²² Zúñiga, op. cit.

²³ Concamín, 2001:p.12



Until 1965, the Bracero (Migrant Worker) Program brought cheap Mexican laborers into the U.S. agricultural business. The Border Industrialization Program replaced the Bracero Program in 1965, and began the trend of twin plants along the U.S.-Mexico border. The Border Industrialization Program was renamed to the “Maquiladora Program”. Since maquiladoras manufacture parts and components for U.S. and foreign industries, recessions abroad cause unemployment in the maquiladora industry. ²⁴

The maquiladora, a twin plant, usually makes parts for assembly in manufacturing plants in the United States and operates at low costs in Mexico and in those places where the currency is weaker than the dollar. The basic concept behind a maquiladora is that an U.S. or European company relocates one or several of its manufacturing plants to low-cost country. The products they manufacture, however, are sold for dollars, increasing profits by huge margins whenever the local currency falls. ²⁵²⁶²⁷

The basic law in the maquila industry, is the cheap labour: the minimum wage in Mexico is about \$0.50 per hour. The last peso devaluation in early 1995, however, has made labour even cheaper for foreign corporations. The U.S. parent companies, however, rely on foreign exchange rates to set the price of labour, and consequently, the drop in wages reflects U.S. corporate economic interests. The maquila industry contributes in a limited fashion in the economic growth of these countries. The Mexican government pronounced new benefits on May 9th, 2000 in

²⁴ Sklair, Leslie:1988, 1993.

²⁵Céspedes and Martiarena, 2002:1^a

²⁶ Zúñiga and González, 2002:22: since June 2001, 545 maquiladoras have gone to China leaving 150,000 workers jobless.

²⁷ Heath, 2002: p.6^a



terms of taxes for the maquila industry until 2002 ²⁸. Since 1994, 2,400 new industries were established and 1 million 250 workers got a job. And in the first two months of 2000, the industry grew 17%; the minimum wage in Mexico was \$3.4 in 1994 and went down 67.4% and the salaries were below inflation indexes.

²⁹

In 1999, the industry generated an aggregated value of 10, 689 million pesos, most of them in the border, occupying 1 million 140 thousand workers. ³⁰ On the other hand, wages have become stagnant since the decade of the sixties: in 1966, a worker earned .41 dls. an hour and currently, only one cent more. ³¹

One of the most striking phenomenons in the maquila industry refers to clothing: globalization process in textile industry has had great implications for the commerce reflected in low wages in order to compete with great markets of developed nations. ³²The industry generates more than 40% of the exporting goods. ³³³⁴³⁵

The expansion of the maquila industry

²⁸ LA JORNADA, May 10th. 2000:19.

²⁹ Boltvinik, 2000:30.

³⁰ Marquez Ayala, 2000: 28.

³¹ Martinez, 2000:28.

³²Colin, 2000: 22.

³³*Milenio*: 2000: 31.

³⁴Márquez, 2002:25

³⁵Zúñiga and Valdéz, 2002:25



Probably the most important economic phenomenon in Mexico in the last twenty years is the maquiladora industry, which constitutes a kind of bottom-line of Mexican economy.³⁶ The maquiladora industry in Mexico employs nearly 500,000 workers in over 2100 plants located both along the Mexico-U.S. border³⁷ and that is why the largest maquiladora regions are located in that area³⁸ and some others in the interior states. It generates approximately \$5.5 billion dollars in foreign exchange.

Some current problems are related to the deficient cargo transportation structure and a growing demand for electricity. After having reported an extraordinary average annual growth rate of almost 14 per cent between 1995 and 1999, during the early months of this year, the production of some companies increased by almost 17 per cent over January and February of 1999. This industry mostly transforms imported intermediary goods through intensive processes of hand labour, as well as re-exportation of these products partially or completely finished³⁹. Regional maquila industry developed in Mexico in early sixties and during the next two decades, many “maquiladoras” were established as well in the Caribbean and Central America. Everything seems to indicate that the maquila will grow in underdeveloped countries, perhaps due to the fact that they do not need qualified labour and the wages are really cheap.

As we mentioned, the most important areas where maquilas are located, are in the US-Mexico border⁴⁰ even though their organization and orientation to productive lines, are different. The industry has grown recently not only to the north of the country⁴¹ but also to the Southeast (Merida), west (Guadalajara) and centre of the country (Leon) mostly for the production of parts for cars, textile industry and electronics, representing 50% of the total of the industries and 68% of the new jobs, mostly, non qualified.

The strategy followed by the maquila industry is very clear within the process of globalization of world economies through intensive production of capital in

³⁶Schettino, 2000: 12-15.

³⁷ Fatemi, 1996; Kamel et al.,1999; Patrick,1990; Clark et al.,1990; Zaman, 1990 and Perez Gabriel, 1990,

³⁸El Paso-Ciudad Juárez: 132,000 workers in 254 plants; San Diego-Tijuana: 77,000 workers in 554 plants and Brownsville-Matamoros: 38,000 workers in 96 plants.

³⁹ In some countries there is a maquila for services, for instance, in the processing of data. CEPAL, 1996.

⁴⁰Mexicali, Ciudad Juárez, Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa and Matamoros.

⁴¹Chihuahua, Hermosillo, Monterrey, Torreón, Gómez Palacio.



industrialized countries, whereas the intensive production in generalized scale is done in peripheral countries where wages are low. Finally, we must mention other problems: the basic issue in the maquiladora industry is the exploitation of cheap labour and the working conditions are often unsafe and dangerous to workers: they are not compensated adequately for their labour, and frequently are fired for their attempts to unionise. Only the government-approved (PRI controlled) labour union, the CTM (Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico: Mexico's Workers Confederation), is legal. Underground unions (such as the Frente Auténtico de los Trabajadores: Authentic Workers Front) are illegal. Additional problems include the frequent expiration of union-contracts (without timely extensions), and sexual harassment in the workplace. Maquiladoras also pollute the environment and pose environmental hazards to the people who live in surrounding environments.

The case of Teziutlán

Teziutlán is a city located at the north of the State or Province of Puebla⁴². The last census reports around 100,000 inhabitants. Around the city, there are 17 Indian villages where many people live in very poor conditions. They speak *Náhuatl*, which is the modern version of the so-called Aztec language, the most important spoken in the country other than the official language, Spanish. There are other 63 Indian languages spoken by 16 million people. The village I have been working at different periods of time is known as San Sebastián⁴³ : it used to be the more traditional and underdeveloped of all the 17. It comprises no more than 2,000 people dedicated in the past mostly to agricultural activities. They use to keep their traditions intact, the language was not infiltrated by Spanish as it is now and the culture was ferociously kept: today, all that is almost gone, I think, thanks to globalization.

In the recent years, a boom of maquiladoras suddenly appears in the neighbour city of Teziutlán, affecting people's everyday life and traditions. Currently in

⁴²Four hours drive north from Mexico City.

⁴³Half an hour drive from Teziutlán.



Teziutlán there are 320 maquiladoras but only 120 are officially registered. Six of them have agreements with industries of the USA and the direct benefit is for 42 enterprises and indirectly for other 28: the rest of them, are maquila industries of the maquila companies (Martinez, 2000).

There are today 14 thousand workers in the maquila and most of them come from Indian villages such as San Sebastián. According to some sources, there must be a floating population of around 6,000 workers in illegal maquila industries; moreover, the highways do not facilitate transportation of goods since their maintenance is very poor and the Unions do not protect really the workers and independent syndicates or unions always are in disadvantage.

The minimum wage for a worker is between 45 and 50 dls. per week but some of them can make as much as 125. The local social security hospital for those workers have only 14 beds and 10 dispensaries, and the government has only built 300 little houses for the workers when the demand is bigger. Each family of a worker usually has an average of four children, there are no sports or outdoor recreation facilities and they work from Monday to Friday, eight hours per day.

Prostitution and delinquency are recently common problems surrounding the industries and the city, especially on pay day; there is a 35% of unmarried mothers according to different sources and new sicknesses have appeared such as AIDS and others. Most of the workers have no more than nine years of education in total. In the city of Teziutlán and its surroundings⁴⁴ close to the Indian village where we have been working in the last years, maquila industries represent around 10% of all the industry in the country: most of them produce clothing of different kinds for exportation. In the city of Teziutlán, in one of its boroughs named Francia, it is very common to see trucks that come directly from USA: Teziutlán and Tehuacán in the State of Puebla have become with Tijuana, important maquila centres.

Most of the people that work in the maquila industry are from Teziutlán and surrounding cities⁴⁵ as well as from many Indian villages. Wages are paid according to the number of parts assembled and usually are a little upper than the official minimum wage (around 3 dollars a day). Ecological effects of the

⁴⁴Jalacingo, San Juan Xiutetelco, Atempán and Atoluca.

⁴⁵such as Tlapacoyán and Altotonga in the State of Veracruz and Chignautla and Atempán in Puebla.



installation of these maquila factories in the area are very clear: for instance, chemicals (bleach) are used for washing jeans. It is very common to see a new industry born almost every week either in this city or the neighbouring populations⁴⁶. Last calculations indicate that the employed population receive wages that go from 45 to 125 dlls. per week, depending on the qualifications of the worker and the amount of products he makes. Most of the imports that are used by the industries established in Teziutlán come from USA through the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala and Aguascalientes; there are many foreign supervisors with much better income and even is common to see people in care of quality control of international brands specially from China, France and United States who receive around one thousand dollars a week⁴⁷.

According to some informants, the only advantage of the maquilas in the city is the wages paid to the workers (at an average of 80 dlls. a week) since the profits of the owners are invested in other growing nearby cities or even other countries for the establishment of new maquiladoras: as a matter of fact, Teziutlán is exporting only cheap labour. For the population, the establishment of maquiladoras in the region has provoked mixed reactions: on the one hand, those who have a job are very satisfied even if the wages are not that spectacular, but many are complaining about the pollution, the changes in lifestyles and the growing of the city. In the past, delinquency and associated manifestations were very rare and today are very common, for instance. Also, people complain that vegetables, coffee, corn, beans, fruits and cattle growing that were produced in the past are not anymore since peasants are abandoning their villages and their lands to work in the maquila and consequently the prices are higher.

Among others, we can mention the principal effects of the installation of these new industries in the vicinity of the Indian community. First of all, the most striking fact is that Indians do not want to speak their own language anymore but only in home. Sometimes they even deny being Indians and consequently, they have abandoned their traditional garments and clothes and now use jeans, shirts and jackets. Since they have to go every day to the maquila, sometimes they decide to live in the city during the week and only spent the week end at home: there is no

⁴⁶Chignautla, Teteles, Tlatlauqui, San Juan Xiutetelco, Tlapacoyan, Jalacingo, Altotonga and Xalapa.

⁴⁷Since cost of living in Teziutlán is very low, it is common to see some of them paying a \$.50USD. soda and leave a dollar for tip!



more familiar contact like in the past. The spare time is utilized mostly in the cantinas, (Mexican pubs), where they spend most of their salary, affecting the family income. Alcoholism and drug abuse –formerly not only unknown but out completely of their traditions- is very severe since the introduction of the maquila and some other problems already mentioned such as prostitution and delinquency, are growing rapidly.

Traditions in the community are changing at a very fast rate: for instance, the very common feast of the patron saint of the town in January is now celebrated not with services, praying and processions that still exist but few people attend, but mostly with the establishment of fairs where people go to bet money and drink. Food habits have changed also: tortillas are rarely made at home and people prefer to buy them by the pack, electricity has come to the village and unfortunately people spend time watching soap operas and listening to American rock hits: local music is gone, musicians are out of work, agriculture has been abandoned practically and the women that in the past kept domestic animals and took care of the household, want to work in the maquila.

People dress, eats, and lives together in a very different way: all this has occurred in no more than five years. Utensils are plastic: clay containers have disappeared. Bricks now substitute the former huts and furniture is bought in the city and not handmade anymore. Goals are also different: people dream having a job in the maquila, marrying city style, celebrating life cycle happenings in a different way; they want to be like urban people, they do not like being rural or Indian. We see now compact discs instead of local bands, foreign music, junk food, consumption of liquors and other goods announced on TV. and things not needed in the past are now usual. San Sebastián has changed radically by all means and in all terms. There is no cultural resistance, re-invention, indigenization or creolization. The socio-cultural consequences of globalization via maquila industry are at sight.

Final Remarks

The final results of globalization are still far away to be known: some scholars alert about the bad effects of this phase of capitalism as far as polarization of the income, unemployment and social exclusion especially for vulnerable sectors. In



the case of Mexico, the government has followed his neo liberal model and has kept his policy of compressed salaries and unemployment is one of the most severe problems in the country: maquila provides then some jobs but with low wages and this affects the rest of the economy; that is why impulse to internal production and access to cultural and communicational resources must be developed to protect regional institutions. ⁴⁸

The exports that come from the maquila have no effect in the reconstruction of the internal market or in the generation of jobs or the elevation of the level and quality of life of the majority since the maquiladora industry has disarticulated the rest of the economy and now operates in an atmosphere of certainty and competitiveness. There is a need for a regulatory framework to generate certainty and favour competitiveness, but inflation must be reduced through a free-floating exchange rate and without resorting to artificial controls or price distortion. Economic growth can be achieved on the basis of private investment and exports, as opposed to excessive public spending or indebtedness. The conditions required allowing the Mexican economy to maintain its dynamism and stability for years to come have to improve. If the economy is administered with a sense of congruence and discipline, these two spheres will complement and strengthen each other.

More has to be done to further the creation of real development alternatives through economic growth, the application of an increasingly tangible democracy, the modernization of the educational system and the maquila export sector: Mexico requires an infrastructure that will reflect its current industrial development and allow our country to assimilate the population growth of urban centres.

Behind globalization, we must look for the wild concentration of capital in the banks, the great consortiums and the communication media enterprises. ⁴⁹

Globalization comes to be the process of intensification of reciprocal interdependence and a way of interconnecting between societies that has to be re-evaluated in terms of the potential of national cultures and regional institutions

⁴⁸ García Canclini: 2000: 4-5.

⁴⁹Kurnitzky: 2000: 36.



since it is a process that not only makes countries closer and homogeneous but also produces breakdowns and segregation.

We have seen very briefly in this paper, the consequences in an Indian village: if wealth and access to education, health services, employment, and technology were globalized for all, we will of course welcome globalization. But unfortunately, we think that global market is making richer the rich and poorer the poor. As people say in Mexico in a joke, globalization is a Hood Robin process, that is, the reverse of Robin Hood: gives to the rich what belongs to the poor.



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ABSTRACT

Globalization and patterns of alcohol consumption in a Mexican Indian Community.

Luis Berruecos.

In Mexico, the recent establishment of the maquila industry in the surroundings of an Indian community in Mexico, has provoked the homogenisation/ westernization of lifestyles, values and cultural representations in suggested outcomes - such as cultural resistance, re-invention, indigenization or creolization as socio-cultural consequences of globalization, such as the re-shaping people's everyday lifestyle experiences, such as alcohol consumption, and the adverse effects and consequences on an emergent cosmopolitanism on social and cultural life that facilitates the migration of cultural meanings and practices from one place to another.

Currently, there are more than 2,100 industries in Mexico and 16% of the labour force in the manufacturing industry is located in the maquila. The strategy followed by the maquila industry is very clear within the process of globalization of world economies through intensive production of capital in industrialized countries, whereas the intensive production in generalized scale is done in peripheral countries where wages are low. Transnational companies have fewer taxes to pay, and they transfer their models of technology to maquila countries where the owners also own the capital.

In the city of Teziutlán in the northern State of Puebla, Mexico, and its surroundings close to the Indian village where I have been working in the last 37 years, there are around 300 maquila industries. Most of them produce clothing of different kinds for exportation. Most of the people that work in the maquila industry are from Teziutlán and surrounding small cities. Since Teziutlán is only exporting low cost wages, there are local systems of control of these industries through the Ministry of Finance, the Local Chamber and the Municipality, but there no longer is easy to find workers for the field in agricultural activities since people prefer to work in the maquilas and the cost of living is higher than before.

In this essay, I will analyze the effects of globalization via the installation of maquila industries, in the socio cultural aspects of the members of an Indian community in Mexico, specially, paying attention on the transformation of alcohol consumption patterns of the inhabitants of this particular Indian village.